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**The centralisation of government departments in
Northern Province, 1994-1998**

By



A thesis submitted to the school of government, faculty of economic and
Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape in partial
Fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Public
Administration.



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In memory of my mother.

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The subjects of my study, who made this study possible.



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ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation of how the policy of centralising government departments of the former homelands affected various stakeholders in the province. There is general concern from the people of this former homelands that there is poor service delivery in these areas since the creation of the new provincial government. In attempt to cover social, economic and, political impacts of centralisation, data were gathered through face to face interview, mailed questionnaires and, telephone interviews. The study concluded that there is a great need of devolving power to the former homelands which are now called regions in the province, as an attempt of bringing back service to where people are. In a calculated move to use the offices in the former homelands, the government may also remove the pietersburg components of government departments which are not critical to the functions of headquarters and place them in Venda, Gazankulu and, Lebowa.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Immediately after 1994 the elections the new government decided to demarcate South Africa into nine provinces, of which Northern Province is one. The present Northern Province is a combination of three homelands, which are Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda. Like other provinces in the country, Northern Province also finds itself being faced with the problem of how it can govern these three former homelands effectively.

In an attempt to provide uniform services and destroying the apartheid structures, the new provincial government decided to centralize all departments in Pietersburg which is the capital city of the province.

There is a general concern in these former homelands that since 1994 there is poor provision of services in all these areas, people in these areas are saying that the poor delivery of service is caused by the fact that the people who are identifying the projects to be developed have little knowledge of the outlying areas, since they are operating from Pietersburg. People are also saying that the lack of service delivery is also caused by the fact that the allocation of resources is done by the provincial government in Pietersburg, which is not near to the people. Therefore, this study want to find out the impact of centralization of government departments in the province.

This study will cover the following issues: chapter 1 will introduce the problem to the readers. In chapter 2 the researcher will examine the historical overview of South

Africa and the implications for the Northern Province. Chapter 3 will focus on the effects of centralization on development execution of development projects in the province. Chapter will provide an impact analysis of decentralization on political, economic, and social imperatives on the governance of the Northern Province. Chapter 5 highlight the summary and conclusion of the study.

THE STUDY AREA

The focus of this study is the Northern Province, which is one of the newly created provinces in South Africa. The Northern Province lies within the great elbow of the Limpopo river, and it is a province of dramatic contrasts – from true bushveld country majestic mountains, primeval indigenous forests, latter-day plantations, unspoilt wilderness areas and a parch work of farming land. The Northern Province is the gateway to the rest of Africa. It is favorably situated for economic co-operation with other parts of Southern Africa as it shares borders with Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

See appendix (A) for the map of the study area (Northern Province). Figure 1 shows how the now combined former Bantustans were demarcated during the apartheid era. Figure 2 shows the present map of the province with no emphases on the names of the former Bantustans.

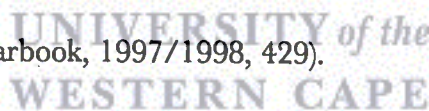
Pietersburg is the capital city and lies strategically in the center of the Province. The

military air base near Pietersburg was recently converted into the province's first and only international airport. The airport will play a crucial role in the economic development of the province and to date more than 350 jobs have been directly and indirectly created by this airport. The big North road through the center of the province strings together a series of interesting towns. Warmbath, with its popular mineral spa, is the entry point from Gauteng. Then follows Nylstroom with its table grape industry and beautiful Waterberg range, Potgietersrus, Pietersburg, Louis Trichardt. At the foot of the Soutpansberg Mountain range, Messina, with its thick-set bamboo trees. The crossing to Zimbabwe is at Beit Bridge, where the South African section of this important route North into Africa ends. (Local government year book 1997/1998, 429).

Other important Northern Province towns include the major mining centers of Phalaborwa and Thabazimbi, Tzaneen, producer of tea, forestry products and tropical fruit and former homeland towns, such as Giyani, Seshego, Lobowakgomo and Thohoyandou in the land of the Venda people. This province is in the Savannah Biome, an area of mixed grassland and trees, which is generally known as Bushveld. A trip through this summer rainfall area, soon convinces one that this is tree country. The biggest sector of the Kruger National Park forms the eastern boundary of this province with Mozambique.

In the Northern Province some 5 million people live on about 23 000 km² of land. The province's population density is 42,8 people per km², the third largest density after Gauteng and Kwazulu Natal. The main languages spoken are Xitsonga, Tshivenda, Sesotho sa Leboa, isi Ndebele, and Afrikaans. The Northern Province is a land legend

and romance that will intrigue the visitor with tales of ancient peoples and fearless pioneers who braved the unknown days of old. Several museums and national monuments bear testimony to this. Interesting living museums include the Bakone Malapa Musuem near Pietersburg, where Bapedi tribesmen practice age-old skills for the benefit of visitors and the Tsonga open-air museum near Tzaneen. Mapungubwe Hill (place of the jackal) approximately 75km from Messina, was a natural fortress for the people who inhabited it from about AD 950 to 1200. Valuable archaeological discoveries, including many golden artifacts have been made in this area. The mysterious Lake Funds, place of the holy white crocodile is a place revered by the Venda people. It is here where the python dance of the maidens, which very few outsiders have been privileged to witness, is performed. The kraal of the Rain Queen Modjadji is set in mountainous country north of Tzaneen on the mountain top above the kraal is 305 ha forest of Modjadji palms- age-old cicadas. These trees have special significance in the rainmaking formula and are jealously conserved by the royal family. (Official South African local government Yearbook, 1997/1998, 429).



The Northern Province is one of the provinces highly affected by the set-up as it was during the apartheid era. This is because the province was formed by incorporating three former homelands namely Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa. In other words, the inhabitants of this province are from three different ethnic and administrative backgrounds. From this background, it should be obvious that the administration of this province is not an easy task. To complicate issues further, the province is the poorest of all the poor provinces in the Republic of South Africa. Statistics shows that 71% of the

province is rural. Amongst other challenges facing the province is the alarming rate of unemployment and poverty. The province ranks high in as far as the illiteracy rate is concerned.

The administration of the province is currently done in Pietersburg where all government departments are located. The former homelands administrative offices are considered as regional offices where little, if any, activities are taking place. Almost 80% of civil servants from the three homelands have been transferred to head offices of their respective departments in Pietersburg. It is a sad reality to note that the multi-million investment in the form of infra structural development done in the former homelands is standing as “white elephant” yet the province is considered the poorest of the poor.

The government of the day is faced with a task of improving the standard of living of the people of this province. It is for this reason that the now abandoned RDP program seems to make sense for the people of the province. Let alone the abandonment of the RDP, there are a number of development projects which the government should execute for the people of this province.

STATEMENT PROBLEM

Maddick (1996:38) wrote that there are services which might be taken to the people, and to do this the administration cannot remain concentrated. He argued that health services must be available in towns and villages, education need to be brought to the children. He also argued that concentration of power in center delays the meeting of

urgent necessities. Mutizwa – Mungiza, (1990:425) wrote that decentralization increased flexibility and responsiveness in the management of development projects, given that decision can be made quickly without time consuming reference to the center. He also argued that decentralization enables regional inequalities, in terms of level of development.

Therefore, the following are the research problems of the study:

- * What are the effects of centralizing government departments in Northern Province?

- * To what extent did the concentration of power in Pietersburg affect the provision of services to people who are living far away from Pietersburg where all departments are located?

- * To what extent did the allocation of funds or resources from the center affect the development of required projects?

- * How did centralization affect Government expenditure?

- * What are the economic impacts of centralizing government departments?

- * What is the impact of centralization on ethnically diverse provinces like the Northern Province?

HYPOTHESIS OF STUDY

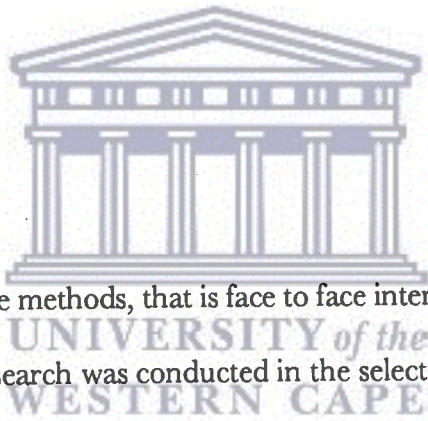
The following hypotheses are formulated in respect of the foregoing research problems:

- * The policy of centralization has negative impact on the people who are living away from Pietersburg where all departments are allocated. The study wants to know the extent to which this is true.
- * The government expenditure has increased as a result of transferring workers of the former Bantustans to Pietersburg and this has affected the funding of other development projects in the province.
- * The allocation of funds by the central government has negatively affected the development of development projects in the former homeland of Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda.
- * Economic development has been concentrated in Pietersburg at the expense of other places far away from Pietersburg.
- * The concentration of power in the center (Pietersburg) has generated the ethnic conflict in the province.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This study wants to find out how the policy of centralizing government departments in Northern Province has affected people of the former homelands (Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda). The researcher observed that the concentration of power in Pietersburg has the negative effect in the people who stay far away from the capital city. The researcher wants to recommend the decentralization of power to where it belongs (to the people), as a means of bringing back the service to the people. This will benefit the local communities of the former homelands, since they will be able to take decisions on the issues affecting them.

METHODOLOGY

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with a pediment and columns, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' overlaid.

Data was be collected by three methods, that is face to face interview, questionnaire and telephone interview. The research was conducted in the selected places of these areas; Gazankulu, Lebowa and Venda. Face to face and telephone interviews were held the with the civic organizations leaders, government workers, councilors, teachers, business people and students in an attempt to find out the effects of centralization in the province. Questionnaires were also distributed amongst the above mentioned subjects.

Face to Face interviews

The researcher choose to use this method because of the following reasons, firstly

interview surveys attain higher response than mail surveys, it was not easy for the respondents to turn down an interviewer standing on their doorstep. The researcher's presence decreased the number of 'don't knows' and 'no answers'. It was possible for the researcher to probe for answers if the questions were not answered to the researcher's satisfaction. The last advantage of this method was that it was possible for the researcher to provide a guard against confusing questionnaire items, for example if the respondent clearly misunderstand the intent of a question or indicated that he or she did not understand, the researcher clarified matters, whereby obtaining relevant responses. One of the limitations of this method was that it was expensive.

Mailed Questionnaire

This method was also used for the collection of data in this study. This method had the following advantages, firstly mailed surveys cost less than other data collection methods, and they caused minimal inconvenience to the respondent. The other advantage of this method was that when one is using it there is no need to recruit or attain interviewers. Lastly it allowed ample time for needed data to be located or for respondents to give detailed answers.

At the same time, mailed surveys had distinct disadvantages. Firstly mailed questionnaires normally achieved low response rates, open-ended questions may be ignored and poorly answered and lastly this method did not work well with elderly or poorly educated populations.

Telephone survey

Despite most of its problems the researcher also used telephone survey, as another means of collecting. This study relied most on this method of collecting since most of the researcher's subjects are in Northern Province. In addition to telephone coverage and improved sampling two factors have given inputs to the spread of telephone interviewing. First, face to face interviewing has become less feasible. Interviewer time and travel are costly. In some neighborhoods residents and interviewers worry about safety. Potential subjects refuse to open their doors to strangers, and interviewers may also feel unsafe. Diverse life styles mean that people often cannot be contacted during conventional interviewing hours. Second, telephone interviewing can develop rapid turnaround from survey conception through reporting the findings. Overnight public opinion polls reporting reactions to major public events now seem common place.



Telephone surveying procedures have other distinct advantages. Telephone surveys minimize interview time and expense. The interviews can cover a wide geographic area relatively quickly. Interviewers can call from a central location allowing closer supervision of their work than is possible with face-to-face interview.

The problem is the method is that, retired people, single parent households, rural residents, low income families, and minority persons have been found less likely to have telephones. Households without telephones may be sufficiently isolated to render them

difficult to reach with any data collection technique. All these factors affect the representatives of a sample researched by telephone.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars have written much about decentralized governance. In their essay “power to the people” Aziz, Nelson and Babu have argued that decentralized governance drives its rational from the fact that it gives power to the people and ensures their participation in decision making. As people’s participation is enlisted under this system, not only is decision making attuned to resolving local problems but the implementation of such decisions becomes more effective. They further indicated that, the extent to which the fruits of decentralized governance are realized depends upon the nature of these policies administrative institutions created, the extent of power and finances delegated to local governments, the pattern of distribution among different interest groups of the rural society, and people’s perceptions about decentralized governance. (Aziz and et al in Aziz and Arnold, 1996: 146).

This has been also echoed by Smith when he argued that decentralization is necessary condition for economic, social and political development. He further argued that decentralization, in rural development programs, is important for making decisions which are more relevant to local needs. It has been also argued that Deconcentration of power from the center enable the rural poor to participate in politics. (Bennett, 1990:31).

Smith also argued that decentralization provides for greater speed and flexibility of decision making by reducing the level of central direction and control. He further indicated that rural development requires such flexibility during implementation when policy changes may be needed at short notice. (Stedman & Murray, 1979:40) wrote that there is persistent belief that local democracy is necessary for national unity. In large countries (provinces for the purposes of this study) with great social and economic diversity it is felt necessary to satisfy the legitimate political aspirations of subgroups, particularly those which are ethnically distinct. (Maddick, 1966:36).

Kothari, in his essay 'issues in decentralized governance' argued that there are certain important socio-economic correlates of decentralization. By itself, decentralized governance is an inadequate tool to empower people social, economically, educationally and in respect to access to decent standards of livelihood, health, housing, etc. He further indicated that it is only decentralized government that can ensure work to all those who need it by appropriately planning for the development of the local economy.

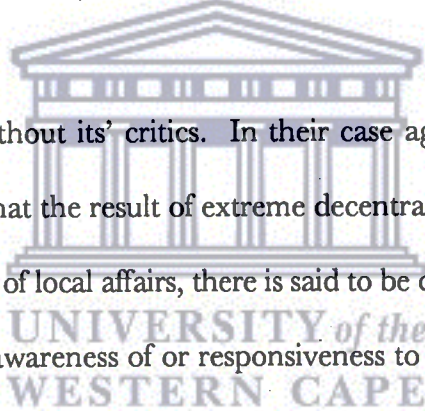
Another correlate of decentralization according to Kothari is the grassroots political process. People's initiative is necessary for grassroots struggle, for justice and for self-determination by ethnic groups. According to Kothari groups are more basic to decentralization of power. Local committees should be responsive to the urges of the people. People should fight for justice and against the structure of domination. In this kind of struggle, traditional values and practices should be given due consideration since traditional society and its own way of dealing with local problems. Hence, the grassroots

political process should be treated as part of decentralization. The entire process should not merely be for the delegation of power but also allow people to create their own new and dynamic structures of power. Only then will they even get to real decentralization of power (Kathari in Aziz and Arnold, 1996:39-40).

Maddick (1966:40) argued that certain services, if they are to operate at any can only operate through a deconcentrated system. Thus, any service requires a sufficient number of local officials to make it possible to operate at all. After 1994 elections the Northern Province government has transferred officials from these former homelands to the capital city of the province, and this has left these regions without the experts to take the lead in provision of services. He also argued that the absence of income in the local government means an almost complete stoppage of services. He argued that without revenue, very little can be done in the way projects requiring staff or equipment or materials or planning. Presently, there is a stoppage of development projects in the various regions. When people ask their leaders, what are the causes of the stoppage, they always get this response 'we are still waiting for funds from the provincial government'.

(Smith, 1985:80) wrote that decentralization accommodates linguistics, religious and ethnic diversity. This point was also raised by Mutizwa – Manqiza (1990:425) who argued that decentralization is important for the political unity particularly in more popular and ethnically diverse nations (or in the case of this study province). Aziz and Arnold also claim that in Asia the movement towards political devolution is the ethnic

diversity of some of the countries in the region, and the growing demand of different groups within Asian societies for greater political autonomy. In India, for example, over-concentration of power at the center is frequently cited as a factor contributing to the unrest in regions such as Punjabi, Kashmir and Assam. Similarly, the growing strength of the refusal of the state government to share power with local authorities, evidenced by its failure to hold local elections for more than 15 years. The gradual emergence in India of an all-party consensus that states should be mandated to establish functioning. Punachayati raj systems represents a widespread recognition of the essential need for political decentralization to manage the stresses and strains of India's ethnic, regional and religious diversity. (Aziz and Arnold, 1996:18).



Yet decentralization is not without its' critics. In their case against decentralization, Stedman and Murray wrote that the result of extreme decentralization is an inefficient and uneconomic management of local affairs, there is said to be duplication, overlapping of functions, and insufficient awareness of or responsiveness to social problems. They also argued that decentralization might result in local autocratic rule by petty officials and powerful minority group. If this were to happen, local elite's would rule and in the course of the time both challenge state authority and jeopardize public society designed to benefit the people at large. Decentralization is also said to result in extreme inequality in standards of public service and protection of civil rights throughout the country or region. (Stedman and Murray, 1979:47).

Considering these two positions about decentralization, the researcher would like to recommend for the deconcentrating of power to the people in the province, but at the

same time the provincial governments must remain with some powers, as a means of avoiding the effects of over decentralization.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Centralisation

This is the opposite of decentralization. To centralize is to concentrate by facing power and autonomy in a center. Centralization can happen in three different spheres namely political, administrative and economic spheres. Political centralization refers to the concentration of political decision-making, that is the scope of discretion with respect to decisions regarding policy issues, including the policy to be pursued, the amount of revenues to be raised, and the allocation of available revenues.

Administrative centralization relates to concentration of administrative discretion. Economic centralization is concerned with the location of economic decision, we can say economic powers are centralized and it is concentrated in the hand of central government. (Wolman in Bennett, 1990:28).

Decentralisation

Scholars have defined decentralization in more or less the same way. But the problem with these definitions is that, most of them are not inclusive, as such they left out some component parts of decentralization. For Wolfers, decentralization of governments is

generally used to refer to one or both of the following:

- The dispersal of government personnel, physical plant and/or services (geographical decentralization) or
- * The (re-) distribution of governmental function and powers (Wolfers in Lamour and Qalo; 1985:3). On the other hand Wolman has defined decentralization along three dimensions, that is devolution of political decentralization, administrative and economic decentralization. Political decentralization refers to the dispersal of political decision-making, that is, the scope of discretion with respect to decisions regarding policy issues, including the policy to be pursued, the amount of revenues to be raised, and the allocation of available revenues.

Administrative decentralization relates to the dispersal of administrative discretion (do decentralized field offices have the authority to make important decisions?)

Economic decentralization is concerned with the location of economic decisions - decentralized if widely dispersed through the market mechanism to consumers -

(Wolman, in Bennett, 1990:31).

The broadness of Rondinelli (1980:7) definition makes it to be best definition of decentralization. He defined decentralization as the transfer of responsibility for planning, management and resource raising and allocation from the central government and its agencies to:

- (a) Field was of central government ministries or agencies, (b) Subordinate units or level

- (b) of government, (c) semiautonomous public authorities or corporations,
(d) Area wide, regional or functional authorities, or (e) non-governmental private or
voluntary organizations.

One can defined decentralization in this simply and shortest way, decentralization refers to the transfer of the central government activates to lower divisions of government (this can be provincial, regional, or local government).

TYPES OF DECENTRALISATION

The broadness of the term decentralization has forced scholars to classify decentralization into three types. Each of this type describes the degree of responsibility for and discretion in decision making that is transferred by the central government. Scholars of decentralization have come up with different types of decentralization, but these three types are often differentiated in the literature: Deconcentration; delegation; and devolution. It must be noted from the onset that these three models can be used by a government at the same time. Some governments have used all three types, simultaneously or at different times. Some began with one approach and later shifted to another after assessing initial results. Other governments have used various combinations of the three. A number of countries have devoted development management responsibilities to local governments but have maintained strong indirect controls over them. (Rondinelli and et al, 1984,10).

Deconcentration

Decentralisation scholars like Silverman (1992:2) has also called this type of decentralization a branch office model. Deconcentration is the handing over of some amount of administrative authority or responsibility to lower levels within central government ministries and agencies. It is a shifting of the workload from centrally located officials to staff or offices outside of the national capital. It is more than mere reorganization, gives some discretion to field agents to plan and implement programs and projects, or to adjust central directives to local conditions, within guidelines set by central ministry or agency, headquarters. Deconcentration model of decentralization is used mostly in the agricultural service, primary education, preventive health, and popular sub-sector. In this system, local governments do not exist as discrete entities; at least with respect to the specific function for which central government ministries are responsible. This means that, with respect to those functions, government exists at local levels in the form of district ministry offices, without any mechanism at the local level for mandatory horizontal integration. Despite geographic dispersion of ministry offices and despite masses of central government employees stationed in branch offices, the impact of such a structure, is to centralize power within central government.

The 1970's has seen many developing countries in this type of decentralization. In some countries like Indonesia, Morocco, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Tunisia, deconcentration has been encouraged through financial grants from central governments to provincial, district or local administrative units while others have

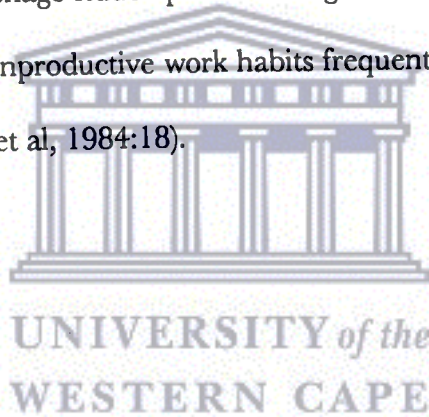
deconcentrated operations by creating co-ordinating units at the sub-national level or through incentives or contract arrangements. In Thailand, from 1979 to 1982, a percentage of the national budget was set aside to allow provincial governments to assist village councils to identify, formulate, and implement small-scale, employment – generating projects that furthered the national government’s objectives of increasing agricultural production and household income in draught-prone areas. (The most important feature of deconcentration is that the authority of responsibility for specific functions is been shifted by the central government to a lower level of administration. (Rondinelli and et al, 1984:11).

Delegation

The second type of decentralization is delegation, also known as the independent subsidiary model. Delegation is the form of decentralization that takes place when parastatals and their semi-autonomous government agencies are given responsibility for implementing or maintaining sector investments. It means that a sovereign authority creates or transfers to an agent specified functions and duties, which the agent has broad discretion to carry out. Such arrangements are mostly occur primarily in the energy, communications, ports and transport sectors. Duties are sometimes delegated to a parastatal which, in turn deconcentrates responsibility for internal managerial and administrative systems to its own sub-national units. (Silverman, 1992:2).

Most of developing countries have followed this form of decentralization by delegating

responsibilities to public corporations, regional development agencies, special function authorities, semi-autonomous project implementation units, and a variety of prastatal organizations. For some countries, delegation is looked upon as a way of removing important functions from inefficient bureaucracies. For others, it has been viewed as a way for government indirectly to provide goods and services for which user or unit charges can be made, but which are not effectively provided by the service. Some countries have followed this type of decentralization as a means of maintaining public control over highly profitable or valuable resources. The basic assumption here is that autonomy or semi-autonomy will free the organizations to which functions are delegated from the cumbersome or patronage-ridden personnel regulations, rigid and incentiveless bureaucratic pay scales, and unproductive work habits frequently found in the regular civil service. (Rondinelli and et al, 1984:18).

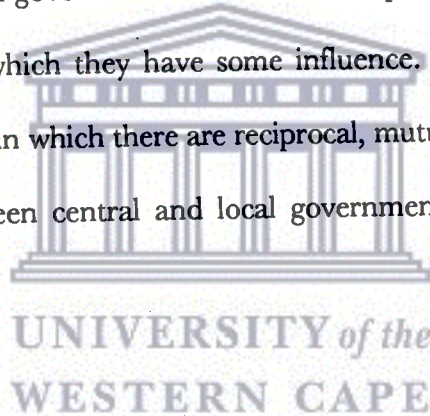


Devolution

Also called Discretionary Authority Model. In devolution model more powers are given to the local government, they can do essentially that they decide to do, bound by: broad national policy guidelines, their own financial, human, and material capacities and the physical environment within which they must operate. This means that, the local governments are not merely subordinate administrative units, but they have the ability to interact reciprocally with other units of governments in the political system of which they are part. (Silverman, 1992:1). Rondinelli, Nellis and Cheema view devolution as the creation or strengthening – finally or legally of sub-national units of government, the

activities of which are substantially outside the direct control of the central government. (Rondinelli and et al, 1984:19).

Devolution as a form of decentralization has some important characteristics. First, it requires that local governments be given authority and independence be clearly perceived as a separate level over which central authorities exercise little or no direct control. Second, local units must have clear and legally recognized geographical boundaries over which they exercise their power and autonomy and with which they perform public functions. Third, the performance must be given corporate status and power to raise sufficient resources to perform specified functions. Fourth, devolution also implies a need to develop local governments as institutional perceived by local citizens as governmental units over which they have some influence. Lastly, but not least, devolution is an arrangement in which there are reciprocal, mutually benefiting and coordinated relationships between central and local governments (Khan in Aziz and Arnold, 1996:42-3).



In most of the countries where devolution has been tried, the local governments have met some of these criteria. These governments have development planning and management activities for a variety of reasons. In some countries, the motive behind devolution was to place the mechanisms of governance much closer to, or in contact with the citizens. The main idea was to reduce the levels of administration through which activities had to pass, and to enhance citizenry productivity and participation by increasing their involvement in development activities. In other countries, devolution was a result of demands by the ethnic or regional groups for greater autonomy or self-

governance, or from the inability of the central government to resolve regional or local tensions. (Rondinelli and et al, 1984:20)

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study will form part of the already existing literature on centralization and decentralization, what makes this study to be more important is that most of the literature that has been written on centralization and decentralization focussed more on the decentralization of national government not within the regions or provinces. This study will provide the starting point for other researchers who may want to study decentralization within provinces. This study has the practical significance, more so if one can look on the manner in which other democratic countries governed, whereby power is vested on the local people as a means of enhancing democracy. Although the study is done on academic capacity, it can help policy makers to reconsider the decision and structure to meet the aspirations of the general public.

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CHAPTER 2

HISTORIAL OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICA

The apartheid Republic of South Africa was divided into four provinces viz. Cape, Natal, Orange Free State and Transvaal. Furthermore, each of these provinces was subdivided into a number of homelands in pursuit of the divide and rule strategy by the regime. The homelands were demarcated on the basis of ethnicity and other cultural backgrounds i.e. Vendas were grouped together and given their homeland and was declared independent. Similarly, other homelands and self-governing states were created.

There is great believe by the African National Congress and other black political parties such as Pan-African Congress and African Peoples Organization that, the set-up as described above, corrupted people's minds in such a way that people identified themselves on the basis of their ethnic backgrounds. Somebody from another ethnic group is considered a foreigner even though such a person was a South Africa.

The move from the apartheid era, to the democratic era necessitated the restructuring of the set-up described in prior paragraphs. As a result of the restructuring, the Republic of South Africa is today divided into the provinces viz. Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Northern Cape, Free State, Kwazulu Natal, North West, Mpumalanga, Gauteng and Northern Province.

BANTUSTAN OR HOMELAND SYSTEM

At the National Scale, the creation of so called Bantustans and homelands by the national party in 1948 for the African majority of the population, was largely an attempt to constrain urbanization, with the notorious pass 'law' controlling entry to the cities to levels consistent with demands for labor. Africans were regarded as merely temporary Sojourners (Smith, 1992:2). The fact that the homeland system was legally legislated by National Party (NP) during the 50's is true, but the system can in large part be traced back to indirect rule measures practiced by the British in their African colonies, and more specifically, to Theophilus Shepstone's in the nineteenth century Natal. During this time the main reasons for territorial separation was undoubtedly the need for military security of the occupiers, but from 1948 – 94 the reasons were more complex such as the need to maintain the myth white of minorities, the need to give some semblance of justification to the policy of independence for Bantustans. (Ratcliffe, 1982:4).

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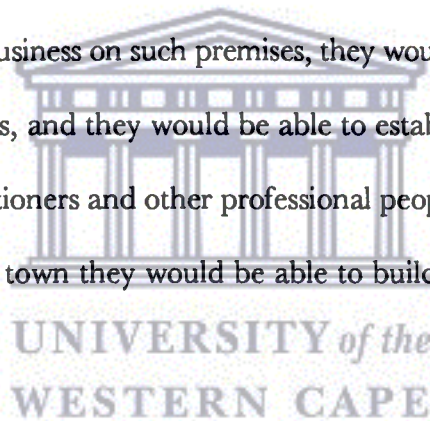
Politically and administratively the subsequent policies followed by South African governments have not deviated much in principle from shepstonism. Under the National Party government the Bantu Authorities Act strengthened the position of what were considered to be traditional structures among the 'Bantu', even if the occupiers of traditional positions had to be appointed from above. The Bantustan policy is on one level, simply a re-definition of the unit of administration from the Bantu Authorities Act's territorial authorities to 'ethnic nationalities'. On another level it marks a qualitative

change in the methods of administration and control of the South African population.

The Bantu Authorities Act placed a great deal of 'untraditional' power in the hands of the chiefs and headmen. This transformed them from being 'theoretically at least the guidance of their people into loyal, government-paid officials. They became key functional elements of the system of government (Ratcliffe, 1982:5).

As an attempt of protecting its minority rule the apartheid government has legislated several acts, which according to Africans were oppressive. The following acts were enacted: The Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, under this act the system of rule through the chiefs and headman was consolidated. The act, and the changes it brought about in incorporating chiefs and headmen into a system of control over their subjects, was strangely resisted by Africans. In 1959 the Bantu self government Act was passed, this act laid the basis of the system of administration of (ethnically) separate areas. This Act also abolished the indirect parliamentary representation of Africans that had existed, and recognized eight 'nationalities' for the African population of South Africa, this has since been increased to ten, as more 'nationalities' have been discovered. During 1974 the second Bantu Laws Amendment Act was enacted, this act, amending the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act, applying to all Bantustans, was to advance all these regions on the way to 'independence'. It developed as mentioned already, the principles established in the Bantu Authorities Act (10 of 1931) in replacing Territorial Authorities with legislative Assemblies. This act gives Bantustan authorities the power to ban organizations, individuals and publications and to banish and restrict individual actions in terms of the Act needed the prior approval of the Minister of Bantu Administration

and Development (Ratcliffe, 1982:12). Blacks resisted this Act but unsuccessfully so. After a two decades of protest by African the National Party government decided to sympathize with 'Bantus' on certain issues. But the bottom line is that it was a compromise which was also full of conditions. During 1975, the National Party minister announced that from a date to be announced later the home ownership scheme would be restored. Qualified Africans would be able to buy homes from the administration boards. They would again be able to sell houses they already owned to qualified Africans. They would be able to build their own homes on 30 years household land, a leasehold which, upon expiry, might be extended for further 30 years. Traders would again be allowed to own and erect their own business premises, they would be able to have more than one type of business on such premises, they would be able to trade in an increased rate of commodities, and they would be able to establish partnerships. The restrictions on medical practitioners and other professional people were also to be lifted and if they qualified to be in town they would be able to build or purchase their own premises.



But to all these restored or newly introduced rights a totally new condition is now attached to erase any of these rights the African concerned might produce a certificate of homeland citizenship. To buy a house, to obtain a trader's license, to practice his profession, a dully qualified urban African must be the citizen of a homeland. Government Gazette No.5108 of 7 May 1976, sets out that 'no site in the Bantu residential areas shall qualify for trading, business or professional purposes except, in the case of a person in possession of a citizenship certificate, in the case of a partnership if

all the partners are in possession of citizenship certificates, and in the case of a company if all the shareholders are in possession of citizenship certificates. (Institute of Race Relations, 1978:39).

One can say with confidence that the present economic, social and political problems in Eastern Cape and Northern Province are the result of the homeland system which was followed by white Afrikaners dominated apartheid regime. These two provinces have found themselves incorporating more than one homeland. Eastern Cape Province incorporated Transkei and Ciskei. Northern Province is the unique of them all, since it incorporated three of them viz. Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu. This province decided to decentralize all government departments from the former homelands to their capital cities. By the same time they centralize these departments people from these former homelands were convinced that the newly non-racial created local governments will provide services where they live, but the manner in which powers were devolved to the local governments leave much to be desired. The recent survey by the presidential review commission has revealed that Northern Province and Eastern Cape Province are lagging behind in terms of service delivery. The commission has recommended that the national government must intervene in these provinces by taking over some functions. (Presidential commission review, 1997:66)

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

The apartheid government has made several attempts to introduce own management for

black residents at local level. Actually, this was a compensation for restricted rights, and in part to bolster the political and economic privileges of racial exclusion. In bantustans, limited local governments was established. Traditional leaders were given powers over land allocation and development matter areas with communally owned land. Some small rural townships were lucky enough to be given their own administrations, but what was interesting was that they had no real powers. Somewhere in the 1960's, 'Coloreds and Indians management committees were established as advisory bodies to white municipalities. The Bantu affairs administration act of 1971 established appointed administration boards, which removed responsibility for townships from white municipalities. In 1977, community councils were introduced. Community councils were elected bodies, but had no meaningful powers and few resources. They have gained political credibility. The fact that the formation of 'own local government acknowledged the permanent presence of black people in urban area is true, but the point which need not to be re-emphasized is that, they were primarily designed to reinforce the powers of segregation and economic exclusion. (White paper on local government, 1998:102).

Black local governments have been also faced serious financial difficulties. Historically the local government revenue in urban South Africa was self-generated, mainly through property and the delivery of services to residents and business. This particularly suited white municipalities which had small populations to serve and large concentrations of economic resources to tax. Financial shortfalls were built into local black areas. Apartheid regulations barred most retail and industrial developments in black areas.

This limited the tax base and forced residents and retailers to spend most of their money in white areas. Municipalities in black areas were therefore deprived of the means to meet the needs of local residents. In rural areas, discrimination and segregation were equal stark. Water and electricity were supplied to white residents in rural areas at enormous cost, white scant regard was given to the needs of the rural majority. Crisis and collapse were inevitable. Consequently, communities began to mobilize against the apartheid local government system. From the day it was established in 1983, the United Democratic Front gave prominent attention to the Koornhof Bill which established the Black Local Authorities (BLAS) (White Paper on Local Government: 1998:2).

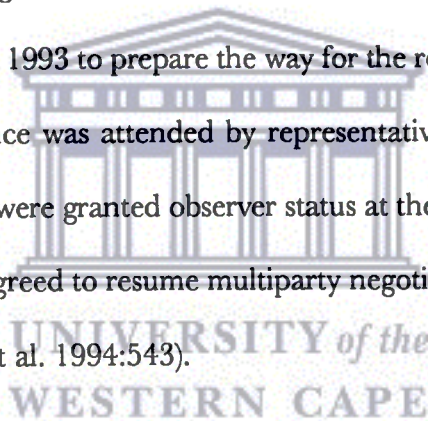
In 1982 the apartheid government has intensified its divide and rule strategy when the black local authorities Act was passed. Prior to the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982, such institutions that existed possessed essentially advisory power to superior institutions: initially white 'parent' municipalities, and latterly, administration or developments boards. With the introduction of the 1982 Act, black local authorities were thrust into autonomy, with minimal experience and entirely inadequate financial resources. Thus local authorities were granted the powers equivalent to those of white municipalities, including primary responsibility for township development, but what is interesting is that such powers were granted only on paper. Accordingly, they were supposed to play a partially important role in meeting the challenge of urbanization. their essentially contested existence in 1990 points to their failure to meet this challenge. (Bekker,1991:9).

This act, which provided for the establishment of fully fledged municipal authorities for

the townships, was the intensification of two contradictory impulses that have co-existed within the apartheid administrative system. The first impulse was the racial or ethnic logic of self-determination that was applied at National level. This was expressed most clearly in the promotion of Bantu self-government Act of 1959 which paved the way for the homeland system. The aim was to deurbanise the rightless African majority. Eventually, African townships were removed from the control of white municipalities. The Bantu Affairs Administration Board were established in 1971 and charged with the task of financial self-sufficiency. Representation was through Urban Bantu Councils, Advisory Boards, and from 1977, the community councils. The second impulse was the application of the self-determination logic at local level. Although the separateness of the African area within the cities had long been a feature of apartheid urban administration, it was only once the permanence of urban Africans had been accepted in terms of the Riekert framework that the logic of apartheid "self-determination" could be approved. The acceptance of the invariability of the temporary sojourner policy therefore led to the attempt to extend the basic apartheid principle of separateness to the cities. The end result was urban permanence without reincorporating into the primary local government system and the white cities. Instead, the Black Local authorities were established to give substance to the pretence of separate African and white cities (Swilling and Humpries & Shubane, 1991:175).

NEGOTIATION FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

After the unbanning of political parties by the apartheid regime in 2nd February 1992, various political and government parties agreed to come together for the negotiation of new constitution. The first multiparty negotiations were held in 1992, however the failure of the involved parties to reach consensus on certain issues has led to the abandonment of such multiparty talks. Nine months after the breakdown of multiparty talks in the convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA) in June 1992 and after a series of bilateral meetings between the government and a broad range of political parties and organizations, agreement was reached to hold a multiparty planning conference on 5 and 6 March 1993 to prepare the way for the resumption of multiparty talks. The planning conference was attended by representatives of 26 organizations, while 11 other organizations were granted observer status at the conference. Delegates to the planning conference agreed to resume multiparty negotiations by not later than 5 April 1993. (Copper and et al. 1994:543).



At the meeting on 1 April 1993 the negotiating forum resolved to instruct the negotiating council to consider and report on all matters arising from a consolidated report containing material from CODESA. The council also mandated to consider and report on the following constitutional issues:

- * The form of state for a future South Africa and its basic constitutional principles,
- * A transitional or interim constitution,
- * The form of transitional regional government,

- * Fundamental human rights during the transition,
- * A transitional executive council (TEC) and sub-councils,
- * An independent election committee,
- * An independent media committee,
- * And the future of the independent homelands (Copper, et al., 1994:544).

The negotiation forum also agree on the formation of the Commission on the Demarcation of Province or States. The commission was established on 28 May 1993. The commission was given the task of making recommendations on the boundaries of proposed regions. In making such recommendations the commission was to take into consideration the following in carrying out its task: constitutional principles recommended by the Negotiating Council, and written representation by interest groups and public, and other written materials on the subject. In its report the commission pointed out that it considered the following three national concerns pertaining to the demarcation of regions to be important: the need to fashion a democratic culture by bringing government closer to the people, the need to create an environment conducive to economic development and the need to build one nation through the acknowledgement of diversity and the reduction of conflict. The commission recommended that there must nine provinces in South Africa. The recommendations were eventually adopted to the constitution. (Cooper et al., 1994:546).

By the end of 1993 the Negotiating Council decided to establish eight technical committees. The committees were given the task of developing documentation on specific topics and to table them in the negotiating council. All potential parties have

reached consensus on formation of suggested various committees, but the deadlock was on the formation of the technical committee on constitutional affairs. Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South African Group (COSAG), refused to accept a proposal that the Elected Constitution making body write the constitution. The ANC on the other hand rejected the idea of a single phase process in which the negotiating council drafted the new constitution. After numerous bilateral and multi-lateral meetings a compromise position was accepted by sufficient consensus. A resolution passed by the council requested the technical committee on constitutional affairs to draft a transitional constitution making provision for the election of a constitution making body, a legislature and a government for the transitional phase which would include a national and regional component; the election of regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments in the transitional period; the definition of the powers, functions and structures of regions for the transitional period, the definition of fundamental human rights during the transitional court or tribunal to ensure the justifiability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and the constitution itself. On 1 July 1993 the Negotiating Council approved a set of constitutional principles on which the new constitution was to be based. The following day 2 July 1993 the Negotiating Forum adopted by sufficient consensus 27 April 1994 as the date for an election for a transitional parliament which would also be a constitution-making body.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The interim constitution of 1993 provides for a national government and nine provinces.

The constitution allows provincial governments to make laws regarding local government, urban and rural development, health, agriculture, culture and education. The responsibility of the provincial governments over local government is particularly important as local government is not merely a service like education and health, it is another type of government. In other words, a provincial government has been given the responsibility to determine the fixture of a third tier of government. (Nthai, 1994:100).

Chapters 10 and 11 of the Interim Constitution talk about a local government as an independent tier of government. The constitution also talks of the local government as an instrument of bringing democracy to the people. The section of constitution has been echoed by President Nelson Mandela during his address at the local government elections summit on March 1995. He said that “the central challenge facing country today is to complete the process started in April last year, we must create legitimate and efficient local government. We must now work to bring democracy to our doorstep and put government in the hands of the people. The local election will cement the new democratic order that we have fought for.

The groundwork for launching of elected committees has been laid. Through negotiation in inclusive forums, the old illegitimate councils have been replaced with interim non-racial, appointed councils which will run communities and towns in the run up to the elections, and prepare for the elections themselves. With this step completed, we are ready to hold elections for new, fully representative local government.

It is natural, given our past, that there is for many of our people a great distance between them and local authorities. Local government was used as an instrument of control and oppression, the front-line in the administration of apartheid, ranged against the communities own organizations.

We need legitimate local government working together with civil society in order to address the pressing needs of the communities. The experience of the past nine months has shown them the absence of the legitimate local government is the most serious obstacle to socio-economic change and specifically to any systematic implementation of the RDP. It is also at the local level that we have to deal systematically with deracialisation of any divided society and the normalization of the social fiber of our communities.

National and provincial policies and programs will remain merely good intentions without active, RDP oriented and democratic local government. You do not build schools, clinics, houses from the union building in Pretoria. You do not provide water, electricity, sewerage and refuse removal from the building of Parliament.

These things must happen where people live out their daily lives. Problems of crime, police-community relations, day-to-day matters in education, housing, services, roads, sporting facilities and other amenities all these and many more can only be properly handled at local government level.

The emphasis of legitimacy in local government has crippled many of our communities, with poor quality of services or their complete collapse in many areas. National and provincial governments are expected to provide these services, but cannot do so without the help and co-operation of local government. (President N. Mandela, local government educators summit March, 14, 1995).

THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE PROVINCES

The new constitutional framework (both interim and final) has put into place a new set of principles and institutions that necessitate a move away from the former apartheid era to the post 1994. This framework commits government as a whole firmly to the principle of decentralization, through the establishment of three distinctive but inter-related spheres of government, namely national, provincial and local governments. The interim constitution of 1993 devolved some autonomy over public resource allocation to sub-national government. The final constitution of 1996 affirmed the move towards fiscal decentralization and strengthened in particular the role of local governments. The provisions of the interim constitution remain in force until 1 January 1998 when chapter 13 of the constitution (1996), which deals with the inter governmental fiscal relations comes into effect. Provincial powers and function are either exclusive or concurrent with those of national government. Thus provinces do have some degree of autonomy though this is weighted up against the national interests. This implies considerable decentralization in budgeting process (Presidential review Commission, 158-9, 1998).

However, the manner in which power was distributed to the provinces leaves much to be desired.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE POST APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

In attempts of establishing the non racial and democratic local government institutions, the Word Trade Center negotiations produced a piece of legislation, namely, the local government Transition Act of 1993 (LGTA). The LGTA did not provide a blueprint for a new local government system but simply sketched a process for change. The process put forward in the LGTA was essentially a locally negotiated transition and it has resulted in a wide diversity of forms of local government. This LGTA has mapped out three phases of transition. The first phase is called the pre-interim, it prescribed the establishment of local forums to negotiate the appointment of local forums to negotiate the appointment of temporary councils, which would govern with municipal elections. The second phase is called interim phase, it began with municipal election and lasting until a new local government system has been designed and legislated upon. The last phase is called the final stage, this is when a new local government system will be established. We are now in the interim phase. The LGTA has effectively deracialised the system of local government through the amalgamation of former racially based structures. (White paper on local government; 1998:4).

It is a fact that the said legislation was drafted without sufficient inputs from the masses of our people. As a result, the said act leaves much to be desired. This act has been widely criticized for its failure to give adequate attention to rural local government. Consequently, the civics legal authorities and traditional leaders have found it extremely difficult to set up local government structures. This has caused tension between civics and the traditional leaders from being urban bias, the LGTA also lack structured support

processes to enable municipalities to manage the change process, are reflected in our present municipal system. (Nthai, 1994:6-7; White Paper on local government, 1998:4).



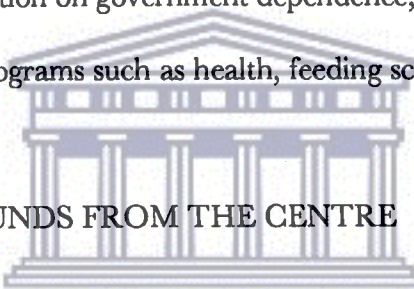
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CHAPTER 3

THE EFFECTS OF CENTRALISATION ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS

This chapter will focus on the effects of centralization on development execution of development projects in the Northern Province. Amongst the factors to be considered, the following were found to be more pertinent issues on this subject i.e. Execution of development projects: Allocation of funds from the center, identification of projects from the center, impact of centralization on government dependence, impact of centralization on the national project and programs such as health, feeding scheme, curriculum 2005.

THE ALLOCATION OF FUNDS FROM THE CENTRE



The reliance of the regions on the funds that come from the capital city has affected the implementation process of the development projects in most regions. The institutions that were created immediately after 1994 by the Provincial government for promoting the necessary social and economic development have become almost moribund due to their financial dependent nature. The alternative framework of policies formulated and implemented between 1994 and 1998 also failed and were unable to check the growing unemployment, economic disparities and other related problems. The provincial planning system addressed only 'provincial' issues and not the constellation of interest that had emerged at other levels, including the most local.

Due to allocation of funds, there is no single project from already completed projects that was completed on targeted time. During the time of their development most of these projects if not all of them faced a break of 6 months to a year. Such stoppages were caused by the lack of funds. In most cases the official from the center have underestimated the cost of the project, but what is interesting is that the researcher has never encountered a situation in which there was over estimation of funds.

The amount of 600 000 rands each was added on two dams construction projects in the former homeland of Venda, when asked about this delay the developers and local citizens responded by saying, “that we are still waiting for money from Pietersburg”. This has negative impact on the local people who were employed in these two projects. One of the developers has indicated that delay in arrival of money from the central government also means delays on the payment of workers.



The allocation of funds from the centers has undermined the possibility of formulating projects that reflect the actual needs of the people in the province, since it is difficult if not impossible for the big and expensive project to be approved by the provincial government. A close study of all projects by the researcher has revealed that the provincial government is more willing to fund the low cost projects. The result is that same projects have been identified from 1994 up to date are water related projects. For example 6 dams construction projects were identified in Vuwani Hlanganani council only. This projects have been developed at the expense of areas like Matshakatini in the

former homeland of Venda and Nkuri in the former Gazankulu, were people are still walking not less than 10 kilometers to fetch water. It is true that water is one of the most important needs of the Northern regions people but not the one of the only important needs. When asked, one of the council official in the region has indicated that his council always submit water related project proposals because they are more likely to be approved by the central authority. For this reason, local needs and project appropriateness do not figure in the considerations of regions while formulating proposals.

The interviewed senior officials from the department of works had indicated that officials in charge of the identification, approval and allocation of funds to projects are also complicating issues because they are also biased owing to their cultural background. For example, a head of the department will allocate more funds to the projects identified from his or her origin at the expense of projects from other areas.



In conclusion the interviewed government official from the department of public works indicated that the allocation of funds to projects is not technically informed as it should be i.e. The allocation is not based on the potential of the projects to create jobs to the people of the province. The allocation of funds should be based on professional advises such as the feasibility of the project and the impact of the project on the standard of living of the people of the province.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF PROJECTS FROM THE CENTRE

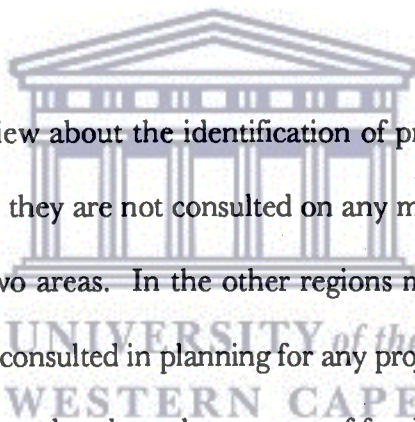
Again an official from the department of public works (provincial) was interviewed. The intention here was to find out the impact of centralization of departments in Pietersburg on the identification of economic projects. The said official indicated that the provincial government regards community projects as the backbone of its employment creation strategy. As a result, strategic points are targeted namely the rural areas.

The said reality to note is, centralization has moved the government and its officials away from the targeted areas. It is now difficult to do needs analysis which is an important criterion for the identification of projects. Officials have to drive to the former Homelands if this is to be properly done. The implication thereof is an added cost of identification.

As an attempt to cut costs officials are now bound to identify projects from their offices without the visits which are necessary for the proper identification of projects. The end results is, people rely on their knowledge and experiences and this brings the element of biasness in the identification of projects for example, a person who was born in Lebowa is well conversant with the situation in Lebowa and will therefore identify projects based on his knowledge.

Due to centralization of government departments, priority is given to projects nearer to the capital city. The identification of the projects from the center has also led to the

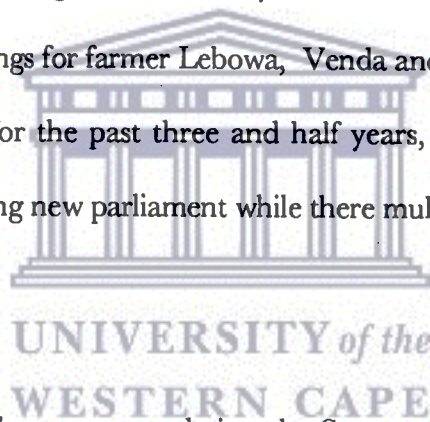
misidentification of projects in the regions, since the people who are identifying them have little or no knowledge of some areas. The non- involvement of the people in the process of formulating development projects for areas under their jurisdiction has led to the identification of irrelevant projects and priority has been given to the programs that do not increase income, employment and agricultural production. This could be described from the two housing projects that were developed in Thohoyandou and Mhinga areas. The constructed houses in these two areas were turned into Spaza shops, hardware's and supermarkets, this shows that housing in these two areas was not necessary. In another example senior officials from the department of education approved a tender for computers for schools that on the whole do not have electricity.



With regard to the Villagers view about the identification of projects and their role in them almost 80% of them said they are not consulted on any matter with regard to the constructed houses in those two areas. In the other regions most of the people have indicated that they were never consulted in planning for any project. They do not know what projects are planned and undertaken, the amount of funds received or the extent to which these projects are implemented. With regard to the dam construction projects that were identified at Lwamondo area, the residents of the area have admitted that there were some committees which were formed in order to monitor the implementation of these projects, but that was only in name, since they had little or no say at all throughout the implementation process.

THE FINANCIAL IMPACT OF CENTRALISATION ON THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

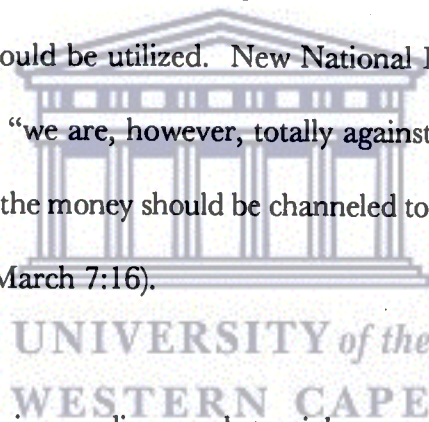
The centralization of the administration of the province to Pietersburg has serious financial implications. Firstly the infra structure development necessary to house the administrative office was incurred in terms of rental of office space. The inhabitants of the Northern Province regard this as an unnecessary expenditure considering the fact that the move resulted in underutilisation of the existing office space in the former homelands. This means that, substantial amount of money invested in the infra-structural development of the regions while they were still homeland is lost. For example, parliamentary buildings for former Lebowa, Venda and Gazankulu have been standing as white elephants for the past three and half years, money being spent in renting office space and building new parliament while there multimillion rands building are standing empty.



Despite a public outcry and the recommendations by Semanya commission, that the government must stop to build an office block at a cost of R1 billion, the provincial government, whose province is regarded a poorest of the poor with personal per capita income at just 27 percent of the national average, is determined to continue with the plan. The provincial government has already allocated R55 million for this building of the first phase, which will accommodate offices of the premier, director-general and speaker of the house (legislature). The complex will also have a parliament and other departmental offices upon its completion. The Semanye Commission of inquiry of 1997

has recommended for the stoppage of the project after the commission had found that the department of public works was guilty of mismanagement and unauthorized expenditure in its bid to launch the multi-billion rand complex. (City Press, 1999, March 7: 16).

Since the plan was unveiled two years ago it received a mix reaction from the different political parties. Freedom Front (FF) provincial leader, Johan Kriek criticized the allocation of so much money for government complex. Kriek indicated that the government should not spend millions creating new building while it cannot maintain the existing ones. He added that parliamentary complex at Lebowakgomo, previously the former Lebowa homeland, should be utilized. New National Party (NNP) provincial leader, Tjoi Lategan said that “we are, however, totally against the plans to build the multi-billion complex. Instead the money should be channeled towards projects or major concern”. (City Press, 1999, March 7:16).



Furthermore, the government is spending a substantial amount of money in renting offices in Pietersburg. In his interviews with one of the Sunday's news paper's, the public works spokesman, Simon Madome acknowledged that “it cost the government more than R18 million for rental of all the departments. Furthermore, the transfer costs of public servants from the former homelands offices is costing the provincial government substantial amount of money in the form of accommodation and transport costs. One of the civil servants who refused to be mentioned indicated that there are people who have been staying in hotels since 1994 to date. Another ‘Mr. x’ a civil servant who also

requested that his name should not be quoted, indicated that the government is spending about 10 000,00 per month on his hotel accommodation considering that the government is spending millions of rands on staff accommodation which could have been channeled to other projects.

Due to this misappropriation of funds, the government had budgetary constraints for community development projects which if executed can bring service to the people. Presently the province road system is in ruins. The province simply doesn't have money to build its road network. In recent economic summit the premier of the province has been reported by the Sunday news paper being calling upon the big companies and mines to chip in to help some of the region's crumbling transport system. Ramothodi call follows growing public concern at the state of rural roads. (City Press, 1999, March 7:4; Sowetan, 1999, March 3:11). People on the ground, feel that the funds that should be allocated to development are used on administrative issues such as accommodation and transport costs. This on its own is stripping the cash flow of this poor province. People now feel that the province is acceding to the slogan that under the capitalist system the poor will become poorer. They say that instead of building houses for the poor, the government is giving having subsidies to the working classes and yet accommodate them in five star hotels.

A silent conclusion that one can give is that, centralization has increased state expenditure. One can argue that by centralizing the administrative costs are shared. However the cost saving is not enough to cover for the substantial amount of outflow from accommodation and travelling costs.

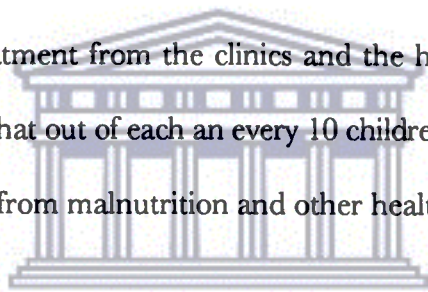
IMPACT OF CENTRALISATION ON NATIONAL PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS

Maddick, 1996:38) wrote that there are service's which must be taken to the people, and to do this the administration cannot remain concentrated. He argued that health services must be available in towns and villages, education need to be brought to children. As an attempt of re-addressing the imbalances of the past, the new democratic South African government has introduced some project's which are to be implemented nationally. These projects are the following: Reconstruction and Development programs (RDP), free health services, primary schools feeding schemes, curriculum 2005.

The centralisation of government departments in Northern Province had adversely affected the implementation of such programs and projects. With regard to RDP, some villages in the Bushveld region indicated that they have never had a taste to any of the now abandoned RDP programs. They indicated that they used to hear about the programs only through the press. They further indicated that some of their self-initiated projects have also full, due to the lack of financial backing from the government. "I was of the opinion that RDP was meant for the urban areas people". This is the comment of one villager who was asked to express his feelings about the RDP in his village.

There is also a backlog in the health service provision in the province. This is particularly the case in the rural areas of Venda and Gazankulu. This has been the case since the health departments of these former homelands were moved to Pietersburg to

form one health department. Most if not all clinics and hospitals in these areas are presently faced with the lack of staff, and adequate facilities that can provide good health service. The lack of the staff is caused by the fact that immediately the new provincial came into being it transfer a large number of nurses from this areas to the hospitals which are in pertusburg and Lebowa. A senior staff member from Donald Frazer hospital in the former homeland of Venda has indicated that, the hospital is now operating without sufficient medicines. She further said that it is for the fist time in the history of this hospital, were in we are faced with the situation of adding water in the medicines in order to make it more. “We have never encountered this situation while we were still under the health department of former Venda government”. As the result people are getting diluted treatment from the clinics and the hospitals of the former Venda. The survey has found that out of each an every 10 children in the former Venda and Gazankulu , are suffering from malnutrition and other health related diseases.

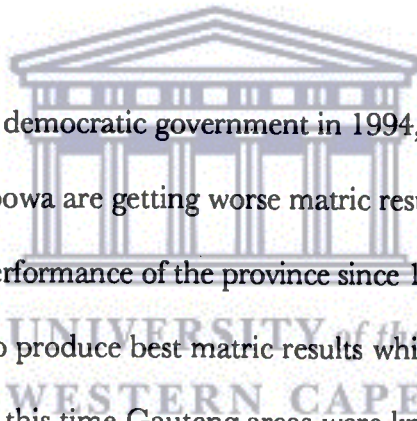


The provincial government has further complicated the situation by taking the facilities of the former homelands hospitals. Most if not all hospitals of Gazankulu and Venda have find themselves being left with 2-3 ambulances immediately after the creation of the provincial government. One of the interviewed doctors from Khensani hospital in the former Gazankulu has indicated that from the 10 ambulances the hospital has during the homeland system, the hospital is only left with 3 ambulances. Which he argued that is not enough, considering the areas covered this hospital.

In another example, the nation initiated primary school nutrition service has collapsed

in the province. This is not because of lack of sufficient funds from the national government for this project, but because central corrupt officials kept public funds intended for the project. The other cause of collapse is by the late arrival of funds to the district regions from the central government. When asked, most of the teachers and principles from the Northern and Western regions have indicated that their school has been sufficiently provided for with money only from the first five months of the initiation of the project. At first we were receiving our money from Thohoyandou and this has made it possible for us when it comes to collecting money since Thohoyandou is only few kilometres from here, but now we have to submit our claim form to Louis Trichard which is more than 80km from here". These are the comments of principal from Hamutsha area who declined to be mentioned. The collapse of this feeding scheme has affected several schools in the province. In some schools the pass rate has dropped to 20% from 80%. "Children are now very inactive in the classrooms after the collapse of feeding scheme", says the school principal who declined to be mentioned. The principal blamed the poor performance of the learners on the high level of poverty facing communities in Malamulele. She argued that children turn sleepy because of being hungry". We are no longer eating buttered bread, sometimes we eat bread alone" those are comments from learners. What is interesting is that there are no problems in other province with regard to the feeding scheme. For example in Western Cape, Nolungile Primary School in Khayelitsha has managed to its pass rate from 30% to 90% in the past two years. The improvement came after the introduction of the feeding scheme (Mail & Guardian, 1999, March 5).

Centralization has also affected the implementation of the new South African education curriculum, namely Curriculum 2005. Some of the interviewed principals in Northern district have indicated that their schools are not yet in position to introduce Curriculum 2005. They have cited lack of adequate resources for the implementation of curriculum as the problem. One of the principals has said that “without some resources it is impossible to implement the new curriculum since it calls for the use of overhead projector”. One of the teachers has answered the researcher questions by saying that “the curriculum was designed in such a way that it cannot be offered under a tree, if that was the case I was going to expose my learners to this new interesting and challenging curriculum.



Since the inception of the new democratic government in 1994, the former homelands of Venda, Gazankulu, and Lebowa are getting worse matric results each year. This has contributed negatively in the performance of the province since 1994 up to date. But the irony is that these areas used to produce best matric results while they were still under the homelands system. During this time Gauteng areas were known for producing the worse results. Most if not all the interviewed principals have attributed the poor results to the centralization of education departments from their respective former homelands to Pietersburg. They argued that since 1994 there is late supply of resources such as books and furniture to their schools. An interviewed principal from the former homeland of Venda has indicated that he has made furniture requisition to the new department in 1994, when the new provincial government was created, but his school is still waiting for that furniture to be supplied. He further indicated that his staff is demotivated since there

is no inspection from the department, as it was the case during the homeland system. A principal of one secondary school in Malamulele area answered to the researcher's questions by posing a question that "how can you expect my learners to produce better results while they receive the text and the exercise books in the second term? The table below shows the matric results of Venda, Gazankulu and Lebowa four years while they were still under homeland system and five years under the new provincial government.

DURING HOMELAND SYSTEM

AFTER HOMELAND SYSTEM

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998
VENDA	70%	72.2%	71.5%	74%	42%	40%	39%	40%	37%
GAZANKULU	65%	66.2%	64%	65%	40%	41%	36%	37%	34%
LEBOWA	50%	52%	49%	39%	39.2%	38%	37%	35%	33%

The table shows the decline in the matric pass rate in Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu. While Venda and Gazankulu being heavily affected by the new set up. The new set up did not have much impact in Lebowa, since the department of Education is still next to them.

From 1994 up to 1997 the province is the only province which has shown no signs of improvements in matric results. Consequently the deputy president Thabo Mbeki has consequently declared education in the province a disaster. There are even no prospects of improving results in 1998 academic year since everything is administered in Pietersburg. (Budget Watch, 1997:9)

CHAPTER 4

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF CENTRALISATION

In this chapter, we look at the effects of centralization on the political status of the province, economic development and social implications.

POLITICAL

ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND CENTRALISATION

The centralization of government departments in Northern Province has undermined the democratic principles to which the South African government is committed. There is a general consensus amongst the scholars, thinkers and rulers that real democracy can only be necessitated by the third sphere of government: local government. It is important to note that local government can only provide such democratic values only if it has political autonomy.

The financial and political dependence of the regions in the provincial government has violated the South African government commitment to the values of local governance and people's participation, and this is reflected in chapter 11 of the Constitution which relates to the creation of local government as the independent third sphere of government. Yet, political leaders in the province regard the province as one of the most decentralized province since there are various local government structures. Kothari (in Aziz and Arnold, 1996:37) in his essay, "issues in decentralized governance" argued that as far as the rationale of decentralization is concerned, there is need to see the evolution of decentralized processes in terms of continuum. Merely setting up governing structures

would in no way promise effective decentralization. He further argued that the commitment need to extend beyond it, to ensuring the devolution of real powers and resources, only then would it be possible to pursue a real democratic path. In his essay Zhenyao (in Aziz and Anorid, 1996:102) has also indicated that implementing political reforms which call for decentralization in a nation with a long-standing tradition of centralized authoritarianism, (like South Africa) requires two important steps first real power must be transferred downward to lower levels and the remaining division of power between the central and local governments must be clearly defined. Secondly, real power must be handed over to the people to expand their genuine rights as citizens. This empowerment of the people, normally overlooked by most, entails multifaceted political training. Only when the people enjoy a wider scope of democratic rights can a foundation exist for central government to transfer power down to the local level. If peasants learn to use democratic self-government to protect their own interests, it can be an extremely efficient means to facilitate the smooth decentralization of political power. The present set up in the province has also deprived the people of the province to get involved in the policy making process.

CENTRALISATION AND ETHNICITY

History has proved that decentralization is the type of governance in the diverse ethnic countries. Scholars of decentralization such as Smith, (1985, 50) Mutizwa – Mangiza, (1990:245) and Maddick, (1996, 45,) have indicated that decentralization is important for the political unity, particularly in more popular and ethnically diverse nations (or in the case this study province)

The centralization of government departments to Pietersburg has necessitated the ethnic

conflict, since the province is made up of three ethnic groups namely Vendas, Shangans and Sothos. People who are staying far away from Pietersburg who are Vendas and Shangans have indicated that people who are staying around Pietersburg who are Sothos are getting better service since they are next to the provincial government. People from these two former Bantustans started to accuse the premier of Northern Province for taking sides in this governing process. In one occasion in 1996 the people from Venda denied when the Northern Province Premier attempted to remove the statue of the former Venda president Mr. P.R. Mphephu. Venda argued that the removal of the statue by the Premier is the indication that the premier did not respect Vendas as a tribe since he is a Northern Sotho. They argued that Mphephu's statue must remain in the government buildings of the former Venda, because for them Mphephu was not a political leader, instead they regarded Mphephu as the king of Vhavendas. what is interesting is that for the past two decades Mphephu was regarded as a puppet by Vhavenda's. What makes the Mphephu statue to be important now for Vhavendas is that the person is proposing the removal of the statue (the Premier) is not a Venda. The researcher has find that the Vhavendas were not going to refuse the removal of the statue if the Premier was a Venda. So the refusal was ethnical rather than the pride of Vhavendas as they claimed.

Vendas and Shangaans have openly indicated that they do not want to be ruled by someone from another ethnic group, when they celebrated the downfall of Ramathlodi as the chairperson of the African National Congress in the congress that was held at the University of the North in 1997. They were of the opinion that for one to be a Premier,

he or she should be a chairperson. They were of the opinion that the new chairperson Mr. Mashamba was going to be a new Premier with an immediate effect. What is interesting behind this scenario is that both Vendas and Shangaans were claiming that Mashamba is from their ethnic group. The Venda claim Mashamba by virtue of his surname, they argued that his surname is a Venda surname. The Shangaans claim him because he uses Tsonga as his first language.

The ethical rift, mount in the province during the establishment of the house of the traditional leaders in 1996. The conflict stems from the question of representation in the house. The Sothos were claiming 16 seats, out of 28 seats in the house. These means that Sangaans and Vendas have to share the remaining 14 seats. The Sothos argued that they deserve more seats in the house because their tribe is the biggest in the province. Consequently the Shangaans and Vendas, vehemently refused the proposed set up. They were calling for equal representation in the house. They argued that they are directly discriminated against the provincial government, which is against the section 9 (subsevtion3) of the constitution, which state that the state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex pregnancy marital status, ethnic or social origin, color, sexual orientation, age disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.(Constitution of Republic of South Africa, chapter 2, 1996:5)

The physical location of projects is another controversial issue. This is because the judgement by the inhabitant is not based on the demarcation as recognized by the

provincial government but is based on ethnicity. Stated in another version, people around Thohoyandou area did not consider a project physically located in Malamulele areas as their project simply because Malamulele is in the former Gazankulu. However, if the physical location was anywhere in the former Venda, there will not be any complaint from any Venda speaking person.

ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS

Centralization of government departments has seen the growth of the economy in the center. As a result of centralization, civil servants were transferred from the former homelands administrative offices to Pietersburg. As a result those transferred have relocated to cities and do their buying there. The transfer of people to Pietersburg drained the pool of economic active people that were supporting local business people in the former homelands. According to Mr. x, a businessman in the transport industry, his bus service is no longer profitable because he no longer have people to transport to and from work. Initially the buses used to transport people in the morning and late in the afternoon. Now that there are no people to transport during the morning and late during the day, busses have to run up and down like taxis. As a result there is a conflict of interest between owners due to competition resulting in war in the transport industry. Another emerging entrepreneur who declined to be named also echoed the former businessman by saying that the movement of people from Thohoyandou to Pietersburg had a denting effect on his business, a supermarket. He indicated that sales are deteriorating. The set up has benefited the people who are from Pietersburg and Lebowa. The centralization of governments

departments has improved the economic growth in these areas. Consequently people from these areas are being employed by the business people, who indicated that their businesses are making more profits, since the centralization of government departments.

This set up has a bad economic impact on the region's economy because nobody will invest in an area where there is no potential for him to make a return on his investment.

Without investment, the local economy will not grow. One of the shoe's manufacturing industry located to both the former Venda and Gazakulu has indicated that it will relocate to the capital city of province by the end of 1998. The director of the company has indicated that his company is not making profits, since people from these two homelands were transferred to Pietersburg. This is going to affect the people from these two homelands adversely, if one can consider the fact that this industry has employed at least 2000 people from these former homelands. Several other industries have indicated that they will follow the suit if the government did not reconsider its decision.

SOCIAL IMPACT

In his essay 'Issues in Decentralized Governance', Kothari has indicated that there are certain important socio-economic correlates of decentralization. By itself, decentralized governance is an inadequate tool to empower people socially, economically, educationally and in respect to access to decent standards of livelihood such as health and housing, etc. unless the economic policies of the central government are

employment-oriented. (Kothari in Aziz and Arnold, 1996:38). It should be noted that employment generation is constantly ignored in Northern Province planning process and this, in turn, has affected the social development of the weaker regions. One can say that present high rate of unemployment has violated an individual's right to work – a right which is also emphasized by the International Labor Organization and the Commission of Human Rights. These organizations stated that every citizen should be able to get work commensurate with his skills and abilities. Kothari has argued that it is only the decentralized governments that can ensure work to all those who need it by approximately planning for the development of the local economy. He also goes further by raising a question, what is the point of having decentralization when local power structures and the distribution of economic power are extremely skewed. More than 5000 people who were employed in the drought relief projects in the former homelands of Gazankulu and Venda have found themselves unemployed immediately after the establishment of the provincial government.



The centralization of government departments in the capital of the Northern Province has also called for the re-emergence of the migrate labor system in some parts of South Africa. As a result of transfer, people were transferred from the rest of the family. This has a negative effect on the relationship between husband and wife. People are now involved in extra marital affairs, children are no longer receiving the love and guidance they used to get from their parents. The rate of divorces is increasing in this province. The study by the group of social workers has revealed that 80% of the divorce cases in the province has been the result of the movement of the people to Pietersburg.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

It is customary to conclude an investigation with a summary in which all loose ends are brought together and possible hypothesis tested. There is a general consensus amongst the scholars that decentralized governance is a pre-requisite for a real democracy. But it is important for one to make this point up front before proceeding, so that one can not be misunderstood: The intention of this study is not to advocate for the homeland system, but to show that not everything was bad about the homeland system. The fact that the homeland system was created to advances the apartheid goals is true, but after 4 years of its destruction the system has proved to be more appropriate in terms of service delivery. The study has proved that what is needed in this democratic era is the transformation of some of the institutions from this homelands, so that they can meet the democratic goals of the new government.



In chapter 2 of the overview history of South Africa was highlighted. The particular attention was given on how the then apartheid affected the process of governance in the post-apartheid South Africa. It was pointed that the homeland system has corrupted people's minds in such a way that people identified themselves on the basis of their ethnic backgrounds. Somebody from another ethnic group is considered as foreigner even though such a person is South African.

Due to the apartheid set-up, Northern Province and Eastern Cape provinces are faced

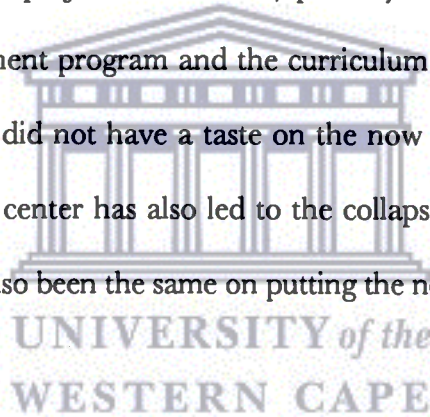
with the problem of how they can administrate their provinces effectively since these provinces are the combination of the former homelands. Eastern Cape Province problem is little bit minor because both Ciskei and Transkei are inhabited by the same ethnic groups, namely Xhosa's. Northern Province is the unique one, since it is the combination of three former homelands, which were inhabited by three different ethnic groups viz. Venda's, Northern Sotho's and Shangaans.

In chapter 3 the effects of centralisation on the development projects were discussed. The discussion has covered the following, the allocation of funds from the center, the identification of projects from the center. The financial of centralization on the Provincial Government, impact of centralization on the national projects and program, viz. free health service, primary school feeding scheme, curriculum 2005 and the Reconstruction and Development Programs (RDP).

What the study has found out is that the allocation of funds from the center has adversely affected development projects in the province. For example, only low cost projects were funded. It has also led to the identification of same projects in province, for example the desire to fund only low cost projects by the provincial government has led to the identification of only water related projects throughout the province. There has also been found that identifications of the projects in most regions, the housing projects of Mhinga and Thohoyandou areas are the vivid example of this, people in those areas have turned the built houses into shopping complexes. This shows that for the residence of these areas housing is not the issue.

The study has also found that due to centralization the government expenditure has increased. The transfer costs of people from respective offices is costing the provincial government a substantial amount of money in the form of accommodation and transport costs. Between 1994 and 1998 the government has spend about 1,5 million in accommodating civil servants from the former homelands. This has been done at the expense of health services, education and other required development projects.

Centralization of government departments in the province has also undermined the advancement of the national projects viz. health, primary school nutrition scheme, reconstruction and development program and the curriculum 2005. There are some areas in the Province which did not have a taste on the now abandoned RDP. The allocation of funds from the center has also led to the collapse of the primary school nutrition scheme. This has also been the same on putting the new curriculum 2005 into practice.



In chapter 4 the political, economic and social effects of centralization were discussed.

Centralization of government departments in Northern Province has undermined the new democratic government's commitment of bringing the service to the people, as it has been indicated in the new constitution. This has deprived the people of the province to get involved in policy making.

Centralization has also necessitated the ethnic conflicts in the provinces. Venda's and

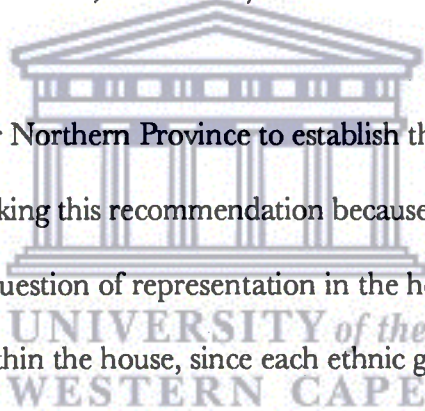
Shangaans have indicated that the present set-up is in favor of single ethnic groups, namely Sothos, since the centralized departments are located near to them. Such ethnic conflicts were highlighted when the premier of the Northern Province proposed the removal of Mphedu's statue from the government buildings in 1996. Vendas have attached the proposals to ethnicity.

Centralization has also prompt economic inequalities of the regions. The transfer of people to Pietersburg has drained the pool of economic active people that were supporting local business. This in turn economic prosperity in the capital city since the transferred people do their buying there. This set up has a bad economic impact on regional economics because nobody will invest in an area where there is no potential for him to make a return on his or her investment. Without investment the local economy will not grow. And without economic growth, unemployment remains high.

The study has also found that the present set-up in the province has some social implications. The transfer of people has also led to the emergence of migrate labor system in the province. As a result of transfer, people are now separated from the rest of the family. This has negative effect on the relationship between the husband and wife.

Researcher's recommendations will not deviate much from what other scholars have already said on problems related to this one. My recommendations will rely on Zhenyao argument, that the successful implementation of political reforms which call for decentralization in a nation with a long-standing tradition of centralized authoritarianism

like South Africa, requires two important steps, first real power must be transferred downwards to lower levels and the remaining division of power between the central and local governments must be clearly defined. Secondly, real power must be handed over to the people to expand their genuine rights as citizens. This empowerment of the people, normally overlooked by most, entails multifaceted political training. Only when the people enjoy a wider scope of democratic rights can a foundation exist for central government to transfer power down to the local level. People are empowered only when they are able to exercise their democratic self-government to protect their own interests, it can be an extremely efficient means to facilitate the smooth decentralization of political power (Zhenyao in Aziz and Arnold, 1996:1022).



Exception has to be made for Northern Province to establish three houses of traditional leaders. The researcher is making this recommendation because, even if the compromise can be reached around the question of representation in the house, the ethnic conflicts are going to be inevitable within the house, since each ethnic group has its own cultural and customary interests which could best served separately. Other provinces are not facing this problem because some of them are made of one ethnic group, and some are 80% to 100% urban. For example Eastern Cape is the combination of the former Transikei and Ciskei homelands which were inhabited by Xhosas only. In Kwazulu Natal the only Zulu's are from the rural areas. The North West Province is 70% urban and the remaining 30% is inhabited by only one ethnic group which is Tswana. Free State is 75% urban and the remaining 25% is occupied by Sothos only. Northern Cape is 60% urban and in rural areas of this province we only have Tswana speaking people. Gauteng is

another province which has the potential of experiencing this problem, since it is inhabited by all ethnic group of South Africa but Gauteng has eluded this problem because it is 100% urban.

The researcher is recommending for devolution of more powers to the regions in the people. This will enable the people of the province to take decision in issues affecting them without reference to the center. The present ethnic conflicts in the province can be dealt with by only giving more power to regions. The researcher disagree with the presidential review commission recommendation that Northern Province problems can be solved by taking some responsibilities to the central government. This will furthermore curtail the people access to the services. Therefore, the researcher is recommending for giving the regions more power, as a means of bringing the service to the people. The research is also recommended for the stoppage of the building of new legislature, as means of utilization of the one of the former homelands parliament, this will also bring the administrators next to the people they are suppose to serve. In a calculated move to use the offices in the former homelands, the government may also remove the Pietersburg components of government department's which are not critical to functions of headquarters and place them in Lebowa, Giyani and Thohoyandou.

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APPENDIX A FIGURE 1

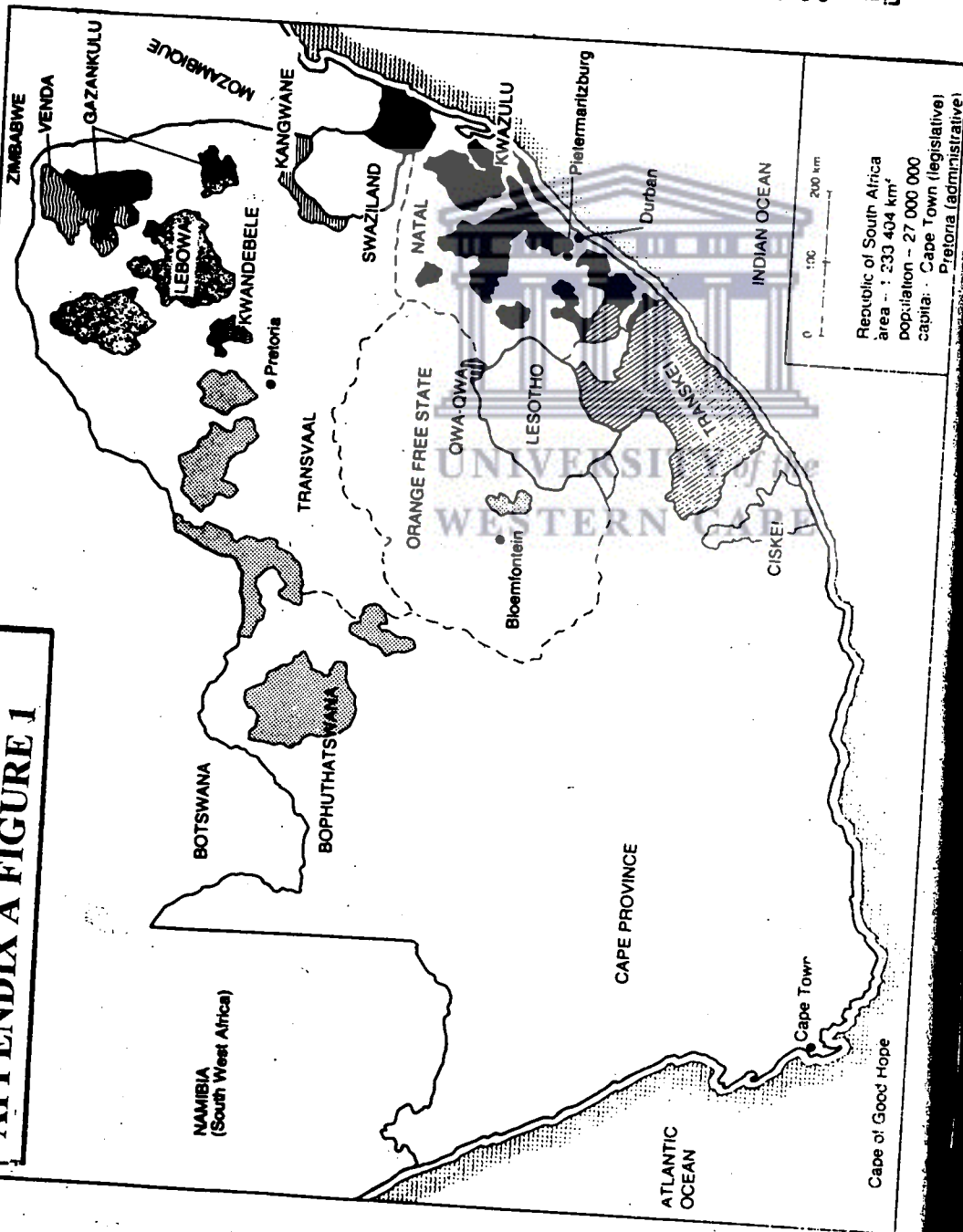


Figure 6.3 The Republic of South Africa

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL AND APPENDIX A FIGURE 2

